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AUTHOR Etaugh, Claire
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ABSTRACT

In addition to summarizing the last decade's findings on the effects of maternal employment on children, this paper integrates these data with results from earlier studies. Findings are summarized according to the age of the child (i.e., infants, preschoolers, elementary school children, and adolescents). Findings related to infants and preschoolers are presented on the topics of parent and child behavior and parental attitudes. For elementary children and adolescents, parental behaviors and attitudes and the children's personality adjustment, school achievement and intelligence, educational and career aspirations, sex-role concepts, and perceptions of parental behavior are discussed. Among other conclusions are the assertions that a great deal of consistency exists between the findings of the past decade and those obtained earlier and that the effects of maternal employment on children are mediated by such variables as the age and sex of the child, socioeconomic status and racial background, conditions of maternal employment, and the attitudes of both parents. Over 100 references are cited. (CB)

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# Effects of Maternal Employment on Children:

# An Updated Review

Claire Etaugh

Bradley University

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Ten years ago, two comprehensive reviews of the effects of maternal employment on children appeared (Etaugh, 1974; Hoffman, 1974). Since then, much additional research has been done. An updated review of this recent reserach appears especially timely considering the continued increase in labor force participation of mothers. (In 1979, 45.4% of mothers with preschoolers and 61.6% of mothers with school age children worked; U.S. Department of Labor, 1980.) This paper reviews research of the last decade and integrates these data with results of earlier studies. The findings are summarized below according to the age of the child.

## Effects of Maternal Employment on Children

### Infants and Preschoolers

Parent and child behavior: Infants. As recently as 10 years ago, there were no studies dealing directly with the effects of maternal employment of infants (Etaugh, 1974). Studies of attachment behavior, however, had found that children cared for by multiple caretakers could form as secure an attachment to their mother as children cared for more exclusively by their mothers, provided that the mothers interacted frequently with their children when they were together (Ainsworth, 1963, Caldwell, Wright, Honig, & Tannenbaum, 1970; Maccoby & Feldman, 1972; Schaffer & Emerson, 1964). In addition,recent data indicated that high-quality day care does not appear to have adverse effects on the maternal attachment, cognitive development, or social-emotional behavior of infants and preschoolers (Belsky & Steinberg, 1978; Etaugh, 1980).

Within the last few years, investigators have begun to observe the behaviors of parents and their infants in working-mother and nonworking-mother

families. A series of studies by Pedersen and his colleagues (Pedersen, Cain, Zaslow, & Anderson, 1982; Pedersen, Zaslow, Suwalsky, & Cain, 1982; Zaslow, Pedersen, Suwalsky, & Rabinovich, 1983) reported a tendency for parents in working-mother families to interact less in some areas with their 3,-5,-and 12-month-old infants than parents in nonworking-mother families. For the two younger age groups, the difference was restricted to the area of physical contact; for the 12-month-olds, to social interactions involving objects. With 5-month-olds, on the other hand, employed mothers showed elevated rates of interaction in most areas, especially verbal stimulation. At 12 months, sons of employed mothers received less parental stimulation of certain kinds than did daughters, while the reverse was true for children of nonemployed mothers. It should be emphasized, however, that most of the measures of parental behavior in each study yielded no differences between the employed-mother and non-employed mother families. Turning to the children's behaviors in these studies, no differences were found at 3 months of age as a function of maternal employment. The 12-month-old children of working mothers smiled and laughed less frequently but showed no differences in object behaviors. No data were reported for 5-month-olds. Another study of parent-child interaction in infancy (Cohen, 1978) found that nonemployed mothers showed more positive attentiveness to their 21-month-olds and engaged in more reciprocal positive interactions with them. No differences were found on 6 other measures of negative behavior, helpfulness, and verbalization. The children of nonemployed mothers showed more reciprocal social interactions, vocalized more, and scored higher on the Bayley Mental Scale and the Gesell Developmental Schedules. These children also had weighed more at birth and were more likely

to live in two-parent homes, however. When family intactness was controlled, the differences in maternal behavior and in reciprocal interaction disappeared.

A number of other studies of infants have found few or no differences in parent or child behaviors related to mothers' employment status. Hock (1980) reported differences between working and nonworking mothers on 2 of 8 factors. Working mothers believed less strongly in the necessity of exclusive maternal care for infants, and they depended less on others for help in making decisions. Infants of working and nonworking mothers did not differ on the Bayley Scales of Infant Development at 8 months of age, and at 12 months did not differ in the quality or quantity of social behaviors directed to their mothers. Infants of nonemployed mothers exhibited more stranger resistance, however. Similar findings were obtained by Tulkin (1973) for 10-month-old working-class infants. Children of employed and nonemployed mothers showed similar attachment behaviors toward mother during a play session, but the former group showed less separation protest. Schubert, Bradley-Johnson, and Nuttal (1980) examined 10 behaviors related to visual contact, vocalization, touch, and responsiveness in employed and nonemployed mothers and their 15-to-17 month-old-infants. Few differences were found in the first 8 minutes of observation, and none were found during the last 4 minutes. Davis and Stith (1983) studied 5-to 6-month-old infants interacting with their employed mothers and their substitute caregivers, and 5-to 6-months-olds interacting with their nonemployed mothers. No differences were observed in the caregiving of employed and nonemployed mothers. Both groups of mothers provided more social stimulation, contingent responsiveness and positive affect than the substitute caregivers. Employed mothers also provided more tactile, visual, and auditory stimulation than did the sitters. On the Bayley Scales of Infant Development, no differences were found among infants of employed and nonemployed mothers.

Parent and child behavior: Preschoolers. Several recent studies of preschoolers have found few differences in parent or child behaviors associated with mothers' employment status. Henggeler and Borduin (1981), in a study of 4-year-old boys and their mothers, observed maternal affect and control strategies as well as child dependency, affect, and compliance. Aspects of child psychosocial functioning were rated by mothers and teachers. None of these measures yielded differences as a function of maternal work status. Similarly, Weiskopf-Bock (1983) found that working and nonworking mothers of 4-year-olds showed very similar patterns of behavior for all behaviors examined, including nurturance, dominance, dependence, prosocial behavior, and sociable behavior. Children of the two groups of mothers exhibited very few differences in their behaviors as well. All were high in dependence, and low in dominant, sociable, and nurturant behaviors.

A study of the home environments of 3-to 6-year-olds (MacKinnon, Brody, & Stoneman, 1982) found that the quantity and quality of cognitive and social stimulation in married households with and without working mothers was very similar. No differences were found on toys, games, reading stimulation, language stimulation, physical environment, stimulation of academic behavior, encouragement of social maturity, variety of stimulation, or physical punishment. Working mothers scored lower on only one subscale (pride, affection, and warmth). Divorced working mothers, however, scored lower than married working mothers on all subscales except variety of stimulation. Sons of employed mothers had less sex-typed rooms than did sons of nonemployed mothers. Another study of 3-to 6-year-olds (Stuckey, McGee, & Bell, 1982) obtained no differences in the caretaking or active play of employed and nonemployed mothers and also no

difference in the caretaking of husbands of women in these two groups. Parents in nonworking-mother families showed more speaking and quiet play than parents in working-mother families, however. Unfortunately, neither of these studies included measures of child behavior. In an important series of studies of middle-class Canadian children and their parents, Gold and her colleagues examined English-speaking 4-year-olds (Gold & Andres, 1978c) and French-speaking 4-year-olds (Gold, Andres, & Glorieux, 1979) with employed and nonemployed mothers. In both studies, employed mothers and their husbands expressed greater satisfaction with the mother's role than did nonemployed mothers and their husbands. More employed mothers in both studies reported joint supervision of their children with their husbands than did nonemployed mothers. In the English-speaking sample, husbands of working women reported more interaction with their daughters than did husbands of nonworking women. Further, employed mothers described their husbands' activities as less differentiated from their own than did nonemployed mothers. In the French-speaking sample, on the other hand, no differences in the father's involvement with the children or in role differentiation of the parents were obtained as a function of maternal employment status. In both samples, children with working mothers showed better social adjustment as rated by teachers and less sex-typing than children with nonworking mothers. French-speaking children with employed and nonemployed mothers did not differ in IQ or in perceptions of their mothers' or fathers' behavior. While this pattern of results also held for English-speaking girls, the English-speaking boys with working mothers had lower IQ scores and more negative perceptions of their fathers than did boys with nonworking mothers.

In a study of 2-year-olds, Schachter (1981) found that children of employed mothers were more peer-oriented and self-sufficient than children of nonemployed mothers, in line with the two studies by Gold and her colleagues, although there were no differences in emotional adjustment, consistent with the findings of Henggeler and Borduin (1981). No differences in language development emerged. Stanford-Binet IQ was higher in children of nonemployed mothers, however, consistent with the data reported by Cohen (1978) and by Gold and Andres (1978c) for English-speaking boys.

In line with the findings of Zaslow et al. (1983) for infants, two studies of preschoolers suggest that parental behavior or attitudes may be less favorable toward boys than girls in families with employed mothers, whereas the opposite pattern may hold in families in which the mother is not employed. Stuckey et al. (1982) found that in families with nonworking mothers, preschool sons received both more positive and more negative parental attention than daughters, whereas in working-mother families, daughters received more attention from parents than did sons. Similarly, in a study of parents' perceptions of their 3-year-old children, Alvarez, Bronfenbrenner, and Henderson (1983) found that both the most favorable description of daughters and the least favorable description of sons was given by mothers working full-time and their husbands. The most positive comments about boys were given by parents in families where the mother worked part-time. It should be noted, however, that the majority of studies of infants and preschoolers have not found differential parental treatment of boys and girls as a function of mothers' employment status.

Parental attitudes: Infants and preschoolers. While previous research



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had shown that mothers' satisfaction with their roles is positively related to the adjustment of elementary school children (Hoffman, 1963; Woods, 1972; Yarrow, 1961; Yarrow, Scott, deLeeuw, & Heinig, 1962), it is only recently that maternal attitudes have been examined in mothers of infants and preschoolers. Hock (1978) compared working and nonworking mothers of 3-month-old infants. Working mothers perceived less infant distress at separation from mother, felt less anxiety when leaving their infants, and were less apprehensive about leaving their infants with other caregivers. Harrell and Ridley (1975) interviewed working mothers of preschoolers and reported that satisfaction with substitute care was positively related to work satisfaction, which in turn was positively related to the quality of mother-child interaction. Stuckey et al. (1982) reported that parental negative affect was shown more frequently by both mothers and fathers whose attitudes toward dual roles for women were not congruent with the mother's employment status. The studies by Gold and her colleagues (Gold & Andres, 1978c; Gold, Andres, & Glorieux, 1979) found that employed mothers and their husbands were happier with mothers' roles than were nonemployed mothers and their husbands. At the same time, the children of these more satisfied working mothers and husbands showed better social adjustment. This finding is consistent with the older research on elementary school children cited above.

Elementary School Children

Adjustment. Recent studies of elementary school children generally have found no differences in adjustment related to maternal work status, in line with earlier research (see Etaugh, 1974). One study of kindergartners yielded no difference in self-concept (Al-Timini, 1977); another using kindergarten

girls reported no difference in self-esteem (Miller, 1975). Studies of older elementary school children (ranging from ages 9-12 years) similarly have found no relationship between maternal employment and children's self-perceptions of competence (Baruch, 1976), family adjustment (Warshaw, 1976), personal problems (Dellas, Gaier, & Emihovich, 1979), self-concept (Rosenthal & Hansen, 1981), and personality adjustment (Gold & Andres, 1980, for a Canadian French-speaking sample). Similarly, no difference in personality adjustment was found in a Canadian English-speaking sample for daughters or for lower-class sons (Gold & Andres, 1978b). In that same study, however, sons of middle-class employed mothers showed better adjustment than sons of middle-class nonemployed mothers and all lower-class sons. Moore (1975), in his longitudinal study of British children, also found few personality differences for girls at age 11 as a function of maternal employment. Some differences in personality (but not overall adjustment) emerged for boys: Sons of working women were more fearless and aggressive, and less sensitive, fastidious,and conforming than sons of nonworking women. Only one study has indicated adverse effects of mothers' working on the adjustment of school age children. Avery (1975) reported that personal-social adjustment was positively affected by maternal employment for black fifth graders, but was negatively affected for whites.

School achievement and intelligence. Recent data are in line with earlier research in showing that maternal employment appears to be unrelated to academic achievement for elementary school girls and either unrelated or negatively related for boys (see Etaugh, 1974). Most of these data have been collected from members of predominantly white, intact families. However, studies using black samples, some of them including low-income single-parent families,

consistently have demonstrated that maternal employment is positively associated with academic achievement. These studies will be reviewed first.

Rieber and Womack (1967) found that lower-class black, Hispanic, and white children between the ages of 4 and 8 years whose mothers worked achieved higher IQ scores on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test. Woods (1972) reported higher IQs among lower-class fifth-grade black children whose mothers worked full-time than among those whose mothers worked part-time. Kriesberg (1970) studied lower-income single-parent and intact families, the majority of whom were black. For children in two-parent homes, maternal employment was unrelated to school grades, but for children of single mothers, employment was associated with higher grades. Cherry and Eaton (1977), on the other hand, found that 8-year-old lower-income black children of working women scored higher on the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Ability, but only in two-parent families. Avery (1975) reported that school grades and scores on the SRA Assessment Survey were better for black children with working mothers. In a more socio-economically heterogeneous sample of black and white kindergartners, however, maternal employment was not related to measures of classroom adjustment or cognitive competence (Farel 1980).

Among studies using primarily white children, no relationship was found between maternal work status and school grades, IQ, or academic achievement for two samples of seventh and eighth graders (Rosenthal & Hansen, 1981; Warshaw, 1976) and for a sample of 10-year-old French-speaking Canadian children (Gold & Andres, 1980). Similarly, in a study of middle-class seventh graders, Williamson (1970) found that mothers' employment was not associated with grade point average based on grades 1-6, reading achievement, absenteeism, or school conduct. Another study which included third through eighth graders (Hutner, 1972) found

that maternal employment was not related to IQ, scholastic aptitude, or academic achievement in over three-fourths of the comparisons. On some measures, however, elementary school children of nonemployed mothers performed better, mostly when the mothers had only a high school education. When mothers had graduate or professional education, part-time employment and nonemployment yielded comparable outcomes, but full-time employment still was associated with poorer performance.

Two recent studies have shown no effects of maternal employment for girls, but negative effects for boys. Moore (1975) reported better reading achievement at age 7 years for sons of nonworking women than for sons of working women. Gold and Andres (1978b), in their study of 10-year-old English-speaking Canadian children, found that middle-class boys with employed mothers had lower scores on language and mathematics achievement tests than did middle-class boys with nonemployed mothers. For lower-class boys, maternal working was related to greater dislike of school and lower self-report grades but not to lower objective test data. Earlier studies also had shown lower academic achievement and IQ scores for both elementary school age and adolescent middle-class boys with working mothers (Banducci, 1967; Brown, 1970; Frankel, 1964; Rees & Palmer, 1970; see Hoffman, 1980 for a detailed consideration of hypotheses to explain this effect).

Educational and career aspirations. Earlier research did not examine educational and occupational aspirations of elementary school children. The few recent studies conducted with this age group find no differences for either girls or boys as a function of maternal employment status (Dellas, et al. 1979; Gold & Andres, 1978b, 1980; Rosenthal & Hansen, 1981). This pattern, it will be seen later, changes during the adolescent years.

Sex-role concepts. With the exception of two studies by Hartley (1961, 1964), there was virtually no research prior to the 1970s that dealt with sex-role

concepts in elementary school children as a function of mothers' work status. The last decade has witnessed a burgeoning number of investigations in this area. With few exceptions, the evidence is that maternal employment is associated with less stereotyped sex-role concepts for both girls and boys. Miller (1975) reported that kindergarten girls with working mothers showed less traditional sex-role stereotypes. Cordua, McGraw, & Drabman (1979)found that 5-and 6-years olds whose mothers were employed were more likely to correctly identify individuals in nontraditional occupations (i.e. a male nurse and a female physician). In a study by Marantz and Mansfield (1977) of 5-to 11-year-old girls, daughters of working women displayed fewer sex-role stereotypes than daughters of nonworking women, especially at 7-8 years of age. Jones and McBride (1980) found that middle-class boys and girls with employed mothers were less apt to classify adult and children's activities according to sex-role stereotypes. Similarly, Robb and Raven (1981) found that 8-and 9-year-old British children with full-time working mothers displayed less sex-stereotyped perceptions of domestic activities. In a study of lower-class second, fourth, and sixth grade girls (Bacon & Lerner, 1975), daughters of working women saw more male-dominant vocations as being available to both sexes. Cheles-Miller (1974), investigating fourth and fifth graders' acceptance of sex-stereotypic roles in television commercials, reported that stereotype acceptance was less if the mother was employed in a high-status job than if she had a lower status job or was not employed. Perloff (1977) found less stereotyped sex-role perceptions among fifth and sixth graders whose mothers worked. In another investigation of fifth and sixth graders (Iglitzin, 1972), children with employed mothers, especially girls,had more liberal views of the roles of men and women in society. Similarly, Dellas et al. (1979)

reported that 9-to 12-year old children of employed women more frequently favored the idea of a mother's working. Gold and Andres (1978b) found that 10-year-old English-speaking Canadian children whose mothers worked had more egalitarian sex-role concepts. They obtained the same results for their middle-class 10-year-old French-speaking sample (Gold & Andres, 1980), but lower-class French-speaking children did not differ in sex-role concepts as a function of mothers' working status. Along the same lines, a study of lower-class girls of ages 6-8 and 10-12 years (Meyers, 1980) found that maternal employment had no effect on girls' perceptions of the adult female role. Sex-role attitudes also were found to be unrelated to maternal employment in studies of second and sixth graders (Rodgon, Gralewski, & Hetzel, 1977) and seventh and eighth graders (Warshaw, 1976), neither of which specified social class. Only one study has found greater sex-typing in school age children with working mothers. Hensley and Borges (1981) reported more stereotyping in occupational choices among middle-class second and third graders whose mothers worked.

Perceptions of parental behavior. Earlier studies found that maternal employment was largely unrelated to elementary school children's perceptions of various maternal behaviors (Finkelman, 1967; Franke, 1972; Woods, 1972). More recent research generally is consistent with these data, and extends the pattern of results to fathers as well. Klecka and Hiller (1977) found no differences in eighth grade girls' perceptions of maternal decision-making as a function of mothers' work status. Dellas et al. (1979) found no relationship between maternal employment and 9-to 12-year olds' perceptions of parent-child relations. (These included activities with parents, discussion of problems, issues of agreement and

disagreement, household chore demands, and parental punishment.) Similarly, Rosenthal and Hansen (1981) found seventh and eighth graders with working and nonworking mothers did not differ in their perceptions of either parent. (Parental behavior categories included loving, rejecting, casual, and demanding of attention.) In a less directly related study of 9-to 12-year-olds (Trimberger & MacLean, 1982), later-born children and boys felt more positively affected by maternal employment than did first-borns and girls. (Items included missing out on fun and doing more housework because the mother works.) Unfortunately, birth order and sex were confounded (80 percent of girls were firstborn), making it impossible to know which was the more relevant variable.

Another group of studies suggests that the elementary school child's identification with the mother is enhanced by maternal employment. Gold and Andres (1978b), in their study of 10-year-old English-speaking Canadian children, found that if the mother was employed, sons and daughters perceived themselves as equally similar to her; if the mother was not employed, daughters perceived themselves as more similar to her than did sons. Klecka and Hiller (1977), in their study of eighth grade girls, reported a relationship between maternal employment and daughter's choosing to be like their mothers; this pattern was found for girls in the highest and lowest socioeconomic status categories. Along similar lines, kindergarten daughters of working women more often chose their mothers as the person they most wanted to be (Miller, 1975). Earlier studies had obtained the same results for adolescent daughters of working mothers (Baruch, 1972; Douvan, 1963).

Parental behaviors and attitudes. Studies of the behaviors of parents of elementary school children have relied on self-report measures rather than the direct observation techniques often used with parents of younger children. Most of the work in this area has been done by Gold and Andres (1978b, 1980).

In both their English-and French-speaking samples, employed mothers and their husbands were more apt than nonemployed mothers and their husbands to see their behaviors in the home as similar and to report joint supervision of the children. In the French-speaking sample (Gold & Andres, 1980), employed mothers perceived their husbands as interacting more with the children than did nonemployed mothers. Working mothers also were more likely to describe their daughters as co-operative (middle-class sample), outgoing, and dependable (lower-class sample). Employment status was not associated with perceived problems with the children. In the English-speaking sample (Gold & Andres, 1978b), however, lower-class husbands of employed women perceived more problems with sons. On the other hand, estimates of the father's interaction with the children generally correlated positively with some academic measures for children with employed mothers (especially lower-class sons), and negatively for children with nonemployed mothers. Moore (1975) found that nonemployed mothers of boys were more coercive and anxious about their children, which may be related to the greater conformity and self-control shown by their sons.

The recent data on maternal attitudes are consistant both with the earlier data for elementary school children cited above (Hoffman, 1963; Woods, 1972; Yarrow, 1961; Yarrow et al. 1962) and the recent data for preschoolers (Gold & Andres, 1978c; Gold, Andres, & Glorieux, 1979; Harrell & Ridley, 1975; Stuckey et al.1982) in finding positive child outcomes related to mothers' satisfaction with their roles. Farel (1980) found that kindergarten children of nonworking women whose attitudes and work behavior were congruent performed better in school than children of nonworking mothers with incongruent attitudes. Avery (1975) reported better adjustment and achievement for white fifth graders whose mothers wanted to work than for those whose mothers had to work. Williamson (1970) found that mothers with positive attitudes toward their work or nonwork

status had children with a higher grade point average for the first six grades. Trimberger and MacLean (1982) reported that 9-to 12-year olds who perceived that their mothers had positive feelings about their jobs were more likely to feel positively affected by their mothers' employment and to have a favorable attitude toward it. Gold and Andres (1978b, 1980) found that employed mothers and their husbands generally were happier with the mother's role than nonemployed mothers and husbands. Middle-class nonworking women generally were least content. Correspondingly, English-speaking middle-class boys showed better personality adjustment when their mothers were employed, although their school achievement was poorer. This same pattern of results had been found in the preschool years (Gold & Andres, 1978c).

Adolescents

Adjustment. Earlier research indicated that the mother's working appeared to have no harmful effects on adolescent adjustment, except occasionally for lower-class boys (Etaugh, 1974; Hoffman, 1974). The recent studies tend to corroborate the conclusion of no adverse effects. No relationship was found between maternal employment and incidence of personality problems in middle-and lower-class 13-to 18-year olds (Dellas et al., 1979), self-concept in ninth graders (Rosenthal & Hansen, 1981), or anxiety and self-esteem in college students (Joy & Wise, 1983; Wise & Joy, 1982). Moore's (1975) longitudinal research suggests that while maternal employment and nonemployment may produce different personality patterns in sons, neither pattern necessarily reflects better adjustment. The patterns which had emerged in middle-childhood continued in adolescence: sensitive, fastidious, conformity for sons of nonworking mothers, and fearless,aggressive,nonconformity for sons of working mothers. As noted

earlier, Moore found that most of the boys in both groups were normally adjusted.

In some instances, maternal employment or commitment to a career is found to be related positively to adolescent adjustment. Baruch (1973) reported that maternal preference for a career (although not maternal employment itself) was associated with higher self-esteem and evaluations of competence among college women. In their study of middle-class and lower-class Canadian adolescents, Gold and Andres (1978a) found that both daughters and sons of employed women showed better personality adjustment, more sense of personal worth and personal freedom, a greater feeling of belonging, better family relations, and, for sons, better interpersonal relations at school.

The only negative finding was reported by Collins (1975) in his study of lower-class ninth graders. No difference in personality adjustment was found between children with full-time working mothers and those with nonworking mothers. Children of part-time working mothers, however, showed poorer adjustment, with this effect being greater for boys than girls. This is the only recent study to suggest adverse effects of maternal employment on the adjustment of lower-class boys, in contrast to several earlier studies which had found decreased approval of the father for lower-class sons of working mothers (Douvan, 1963; Kappel & Lambert, 1972; McCord, McCord & Thurber, 1963; Propper, 1972).

Maternal employment also has been found to be related to personality attributes in adolescent females. Stein (1973) reported that the amount mother worked was associated with higher scores on masculine characteristics (achievement, dominance, endurance) and lower scores on feminine traits (succorance, abasement, affiliation). Gibbons and Kopelman (1977) found that

fear of success was lower for female high school seniors with working mothers than for those with nonworking mothers. Johnson (1975), in a study of female college students, reported that strong (i.e. expert) power use was accepted most by daughters of nontraditional professional women and least by daughters of white-collar employed women.

School achievement and intelligence. Recent data indicate that maternal employment is either unrelated or positively related to academic achievement for adolescent females and is unrelated for adolescent males. While some earlier studies had reported poorer school performance for middle-class adolescent sons of working mothers (Banducci, 1967; Brown, 1970; Frankel, 1964; Rees & Palmer, 1970), this finding has not emerged in the newer research. Hutner (1972) found that the IQ, scholastic aptitude, and academic achievement of high school students generally was unaffected by maternal employment, although occasionally performance was better when mothers worked part-time. Rosenthal and Hansen (1981) reported no association between school grades of ninth graders and maternal employment. Gold and Andres (1978a) found no differences in the achievement and ability test scores or grades of adolescent children of employed and nonemployed mothers. For middle-class sons of employed mothers, interaction with the father positively correlated with grades. Finally, two studies of college women reported that daughters of working women achieved better grades (Nichols & Shauffer, 1975), and were more likely to graduate in an honors curriculum (Marecek, 1976).

Educational and career aspirations. An earlier review noted that: a) almost all studies (9 of 11) of this dependent variable had used female samples, and b) results consistently showed that maternal employment was positively related to daughters educational and career aspirations (Etaugh, 1974). The more recent

studies yield the same pattern of mostly female samples and generally positive outcomes. The only studies to use samples of both sexes (Dellas et al., 1979; Rosenthal & Hansen, 1981) found no differences in educational and career aspirations or future life plans of high school students as a function of mothers' work status. Similarly, Macke and Morgan (1978) found that the work orientation of black and white female high school seniors was unaffected by maternal employment.

In Marecek's (1976) study of female college seniors and recent graduates, however, daughters of employed mothers were more likely to have chosen a career, to have made plans for graduate school, to have entered graduate school, and to have expectations of postponing marriage and childbearing. Bielby's (1978) study of college-educated women in their twenties found that maternal employment was related positively to married daughters' career commitment later in young adulthood, but was negatively related to single daughters' career commitment immediately after graduation. These data suggest that maternal employment may enhance career aspirations only after childbearing is completed.

Two studies have found that the number of years of maternal employment is associated with career aspirations in college women. Stein (1973) obtained positive correlations between amount of maternal employment and plans to attend graduate school and to work after marriage. Similarly, Ridgeway (1978) reported that more extensive maternal employment was associated with career orientation for women who identified with their mothers.

Still other research suggests the importance of perceived maternal satisfaction on career aspirations. Pearlman (1981) found that adolescent daughters of working mothers were more career-oriented than daughters of nonworking mothers. A more important predictor of career orientation in daughters of working mothers, however, was daughters' perception of maternal satisfaction

with a working lifestyle. Altman and Grossman (1977), in a study of female college seniors, similarly found greater career-orientation for daughters of working mothers. Within this group, however, higher aspirations were held by daughters who perceived their mothers as being more dissatisfied with their jobs. The dissatisfied mothers tended to hold lower status jobs. This same pattern of results had been obtained for college women in an earlier study by Frieze, Parsons, and Ruble (1972), who suggested that mothers who were dissatisfied with the types of jobs available to them might encourage their daughters to achieve more than they themselves had. Macke and Morgan (1978) found that black high school girls whose mothers were blue-collar workers (primarily domestics) showed decreased work orientation; however, no data were collected on mothers' attitudes toward their work.

Other studies have examined the relationship between maternal employment and the type of occupation chosen. Burlin (1976) found that maternal employment status was not related to the occupational aspirations of female high school juniors. Daughters of employed women, however, aspired to the mothers' type of occupation (i.e. traditional or nontraditional). Almquist (1974) reported that college women choosing traditionally masculine occupations more often had working mothers than those choosing traditionally feminine occupations, in line with previous research (Tangri, 1972). Earlier studies similarly found that adult women in professional occupations were more likely to have had working mothers (Astin, 1969; Birnbaum, 1975; White, 1968).

Sex-role concepts. Both the recent and earlier studies show that maternal employment is associated with less stereotyped sex-role concepts among adolescents, as was the case for elementary school children. Gold and Andres (1978a) reported less-differentiated sex-role concepts for 14- to 16-year-old boys and girls

with employed mothers. Altman and Grossman (1977) obtained similar results for female college seniors. Along the same lines, Vogel, Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, and Rosenkrantz (1970) had found that college students, especially women, perceived smaller differences between masculine and feminine roles when their mothers were employed. In a related study, Baruch (1972) reported less devaluation of females' professional competence among college women with working mothers. Only one recent study of occupational sex-typing in college students (Hensley & Borges, 1981) found no relationship between maternal employment and sex-role perceptions.

Other studies have focused on sex-role ideology, i.e., beliefs concerning behaviors appropriate for each sex, as distinct from the perceptions of actual male and female behaviors discussed above. Ten years ago, maternal employment was not found to be clearly related to adolescents' sex-role ideology (Etaugh, 1974). Recent studies also have yielded somewhat inconsistent findings. Under certain conditions, however, children of employed women tend to display a more contemporary (i.e. egalitarian) sex-role ideology. One of these conditions is a history of maternal employment. Stoloff (1973) found that female graduate students who supported the womans' liberation movement had mothers who had worked full-time for longer periods at higher level jobs. Similarly, Meier's (1972) study of college students found a positive relationship between the number of years mother had worked and egalitarian attitudes toward women's roles.

A second variable mediating the association between mothers' work status and children's sex-role ideology is maternal role satisfaction. In Stoloff's (1973) study, the mothers of women who supported the women's liberation movement had more positive attitudes toward their jobs. Along the same lines, Etaugh and Gerson (1974) reported that college students held more liberal, profeminist

attitudes toward women if their mothers worked because they wanted to. Earlier, Baruch (1972) had found that working mothers who successfully integrated their family and career roles were more likely to have daughters who favored the dual role pattern than were mothers who experienced role conflict.

An association between maternal employment *per se* and sex-role ideology has not consistently been shown. Lao and Childers (1973) found that male college students whose mothers were employed, especially full-time, showed more liberal attitudes toward women. No relationship was found for female students, however. Dellas et al. (1979) reported that maternal work status was not related to sex-role ideology in adolescents of either sex. Dempewolff (1974) found that neither maternal employment nor maternal satisfaction with work was associated with feminism in college students.

*Perceptions of parental behavior*. Little evidence regarding adolescents' perceptions of parental behavior emerges from recent studies. Dellas et al. (1979) found no perceived differences in parent-child relationships as a function of maternal employment, in line with earlier findings for adolescents (Etaugh, 1974) and the more recent results for elementary school children discussed earlier in this paper. Gold and Andres (1978a) reported that adolescent sons and daughters of employed women perceived their parents as behaving more similarly in household activities. This result is consistent with the findings summarized above regarding less stereotyped sex-role concepts for working mothers' children.

Research also suggests that maternal identification and sex-role socialization of adolescent women are positively affected by maternal employment variables, in line with earlier findings (Baruch, 1972; Douvan, 1963). Baruch (1974) found that college women with working mothers desired to emulate the life pattern of

their mother rather than their father more often than did daughters of nonworking mothers. In addition, mothers who preferred to work (even if not employed) were perceived by their daughters to be more similar to themselves than mothers who preferred not to work. Pasquali and Callegari (1978), in their study of Brazilian female high school students, reported that satisfied mothers, whether employed or not, had daughters with the most positive sex-role identification. Finally, Hansson, Chernovetz, and Jones (1977) found that androgynous college women were more likely to have working mothers than were feminine college women.

Parental behavior and attitudes. The findings of Gold and Andres (1978a) concerning the behaviors of parents of Canadian adolescents closely parallel their results for parents of elementary school children (Gold & Andres, 1978b, 1980). Employed mothers and their husbands were more likely than nonemployed mothers and their husbands to see their behaviors in the home as similar, and to report joint supervision of the children. Working women and their husbands also had lower child-rejection scores.

Once again, the recent data on attitudes of parents of adolescents are in line with both the recent and the older findings for younger children discussed previously. Maternal satisfaction generally is associated with favorable consequences for the children. In the Gold and Andres (1978a) study, working women and their husbands were happier with mother's roles, and their sons and daughters also showed better personality and social adjustment. As noted above, maternal satisfaction with lifestyle or job also is related to the adolescent or young adult daughter's career aspirations (Pearlman, 1981), support of liberal sex-role attitudes (Stoloff, 1973), and positive sex-role identification (Pasquali & Callegari, 1978). Only one study (Altman & Grossman, 1977) found

that higher career orientation was associated with perceived maternal dissatisfaction(with low-status jobs).

Summary: Effects of Maternal Employment

There is a great deal of consistency between the findings of the past decade and those obtained earlier. Hence, many of the conclusions drawn 10 years ago concerning the effects of maternal employment on children (Etaugh, 1974; Hoffman, 1974) are equally pertinent now. Research with infants and preschoolers has found few or no differences in parent or child behaviors as a function of mothers' work status. Although a few studies indicate that parental behavior or attitudes may be more favorable toward girls than toward boys in families with employed mothers,others have found better social adjustment for both sexes when mother works. The importance of stable, stimulating caretaking for normal development has been demonstrated, whether provided by mother, father, or caregivers in a high-quality day-care setting.

For elementary school children, maternal employment is unrelated to academic achievement for daughters and either unrelated or negatively related for sons. Academic performance of black children, however, is enhanced when mother works. Neither adjustment nor perceptions of parental behavior is affected by maternal employment, but both sons and daughters of working mothers perceive smaller differences between masculine and feminine roles.

In adolescence, maternal employment is either unrelated or positively related to personality and social adjustment. In contrast to earlier research, there is little recent evidence to suggest adjustment problems for lower-class adolescents with working mothers. During these years, maternal employment is either unrelated or positively related to school achievement for girls and, in recent research, is unrelated for boys. Adolescent girls with working mothers

have higher educational and career aspirations. As in middle childhood, sex-role concepts of both sexes are less stereotyped when mother is employed.

A key factor at all ages is the mother's attitude toward her various roles. Mothers who are satisfied with their roles--whether working or not--have the best-adjusted children. Generally, however, employed mothers (and their husbands) are more content than are nonemployed mothers and their husbands.

Thus, the effects of maternal employment on children are mediated by a host of variables. These include the age and sex of the child, socioeconomic status and racial background, conditions of maternal employment (e.g., type and status of occupation, length of employment), and the attitudes of both parents.

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